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A FURTHER
VINDICATION
OF THE
HONOUR and PRIVILEGES
OF THE
Commons of *Great-Britain.*

With the CASE of
PLACE-MEN in PARLIAMENT,
Reconsidered seriously and impartially.

— *Tantumne ab re tua est otii tibi*
Aliena ut cures — — — — — ?
Homo sum — — — — —

Ter.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ROBERTS, near the *Oxford-Arms*, in *Warwick-Lane.*

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Further Vindication, &c.



IT is currently supposed, that a Motion for a Bill, *to reduce and limit the Number of Place-Men, in the House of Commons*, which was rejected in the *last* Session of Parliament, will be renewed *this*. The Common Council of the City of *London* have returned Thanks to their Members, for their *Attendance* and Endeavours upon that Occasion, insisting upon their Perseverance and Activity in the Design. Some others have followed their Example; which, I hope, may serve as an Apology for the present Republication of this Tract, with what hath since occurred to me, upon that Subject;

Subject; it being equally proper to hear what may be said, on *one* Side, as well as the *other*, and as fit to attend to the *Reason* of the *Thing*, as to the *Thing itself*.

One Argument, I have lately seen made use of, with no small Air of Triumph, is “ * That a considerable Party of the People of *England* have already manifested their good Inclinations towards it;” hinting farther, at the small Majority, by which it was rejected, “ as an additional Circumstance in its Favour.” Which *last*, if it carries any intrinsic Weight along with it, may conclude more strongly against that great *Bulwark* of our RELIGION and LIBERTIES, the *Act of Settlement*, which was secured to us, but by a Majority of *one single Voice*; than it possibly can do for a Place-Bill rejected by *sixteen*. As to the *other*, it is much to be wished that the *f—b—tes*, under all Coalitions, may continue to be of the Minority; forasmuch as that is no *Cant Term*†, with none or several Meanings, but hath one, which is very intelligible and significant; and without thinking the tumultuous and discontented to be (what they affect to call themselves) the whole Nation; without accounting

* Serious Exhortation, &c.

† The Livery-Man.

counting all the discontented, Enemies to that noble Legacy of King *William*, the *Succeſſion of the Crown in the Proteſtant Line*; I will venture to ſay, that (excepting the three laſt Years of Queen *Anne*, when the *Tories*, getting into the Saddle, rode the Nation to the very Brink of Ruin) it is much eaſier to trace the ſame PARTY, and the ſame Spirit of *Oppoſition*, which appeared againſt the Houſe of HANOVER, through ſeveral Exertions of Patriotiſm (*ſo called*) in every Reign, againſt almoſt every M—try, in every Parliament, and Seſſion of Parliament, from that Time to this; than it is to ſhew (a Point greatly laboured, with no good Deſign) *when* and *how* it ſubſided.—But this I only mention by the Way, as what may not improperly be pleaded, in Abatement of the preſent *darling Argument*, taken from the Conſideration of Numbers; not with any Intent to *prejudge* a Place-Bill, but to remove a *Prejudice*, in order to come at the real Merits of it; and concerning which, would we judge with any Degree of Exactneſs, theſe few, as leading Questions, are, in the firſt Place, conſiderable. How far is the Affair of Place-Men (*as they are ſtiled*) in Parliament, an *Evil in itſelf*? How far may it be ſo by *Accident*? In *either Caſe*, what Remedy does it admit of?

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If, in itself, it is really no Evil, so far there is nothing to be said against *them*. If, by *Accident*, it may be ; but yet, in the Nature of Things, that *possible* Evil is not to be avoided, by any Caution, or Contrivance of *Law* ; it is in vain to urge a Complaint about it, at least, to endeavour at *such a Law*.

This is certain, that there neither is, nor can be any Form of Government, any Method of Administration wholly free from Exceptions ; so that the utmost which may be expected, or should be desired, is that Form, and that Method, which is liable to the least and fewest ; and whoever aims at more Perfection in either, than consists with human Establishment, and human Frailties, must be looked upon as a mere Visionary, or *something worse*. If his Schemes of Reformation strike at the Essence, the necessary constituent Parts, or Appendages of Government, in general, of ours, in particular, and there is room to think it no Error of his Judgment, but the Fault of his Will, he deserves the heaviest Censure ; instead of being reputed a Patriot, to be stigmatized as an *Incendiary*, an avowed Enemy to the Peace and Happiness of his Country. CROMWELL (whose Principles and Conduct, I hope we are not
grown

grown so fond of, as to think them just and imitable in every Respect) tampering, in this sort, to render the People jealous of the Parliament, a * Consultation was held at the Earl of *Essex's* House, about accusing him as an *Incendiary*; it was even moved (according to the Temper of those Times) to arrest him, *as such*, and only waved in Expectation of plainer Evidence, by which the Opportunity was unhappily lost, as the Sequel of that Story but too plainly shews.

That a Member of Parliament holding a Place of Trust, &c. under the Crown, is not *malum per se*, a Thing absolutely evil, I may well take for granted, both from the Nature of it, and because it is pleaded only to reduce and limit the Number of them. To judge then of the *accidental* Evil which the Continuance of the present Number might occasion, we are to consider the Complaint, which is, The Possibility of a Suspicion of undue Influence, by Means of *these* Places, upon the Votes of *such* as may happen to enjoy them. In this View, we have, *heretofore*, as well as *lately*, seen printed Lists of Members distinguished by their *Posts* and *Offices*, and their Manner of voting, in certain Instances,

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* Rapin, Vol. 2. p. 514 Note 3.

ces, offered in Proof of their Partiality, or, as some have chose to call it, Corruption, by *those Lists*, intended to be insinuated.

This then being a Complaint of some standing, it seems to me, as if it was incumbent on several Persons, who have but *lately* affected *Clamour*, and acquired *Popularity*, on that Head, to confess ingenuously, how truly it was *heretofore* made against *themselves*, or else to tell us, with what particular Propriety it is now urged. I have heard of Mr. *P—t—ey*'s acknowledging himself guilty of being greatly accessory to that *once wholesome Law*, the *Riot Act*, and declaring, *upon his Honour*, that he most heartily repented of it.—But did he, at the same Time, arraign himself of any *sinister Design*, or *undue Motive* or *Influence*? On the contrary, he tells you that he acted in the *honest Zeal* and *Sincerity of his Heart*. Which, though it does not prove, in that Case, his Repentance to be such as might not very well be repented of, or, that it was an Effect of Change, not in the *Person*, but of other Circumstances, nor of the *Judgment*, not the *Inclination* : — Yet does it amount to a strong Presumption, that so far as there is any Foundation for the present indiscriminate Charge of Corruption in *Place-Men*, the common

Answer,

Answer, by way of Reprisal, is just as well founded, namely, the Possibility of, at least, equal Partiality or Corruption of *those* in the *Opposition*, through the Want and Desire of those Places that others have, and their Hopes, thereby, of, *one Day*, obtaining them; in support of which their *general Method of voting* has been urged; I can't but say, with equal Probability; and no doubt one Extreme is as blameable, being no less pernicious than the other; for, certainly, supposing any such Cases to be; he that opposes, against his Conscience, to get a Place, is as much bribed as he that complies, to keep one. Nor are private Picque, or ill-judg'd Pride, or insatiable Ambition, an Over-fondness for Popularity, or Love of Novelty, or wanton Indifference in publick Matters, Motives either commendable, or innocent. For if too great a Complaisance to the Crown may endanger our Liberties, on the *one Hand*; so from a pretended Maintenance of them, under a contrary Disposition of Parliament,* occasioned by a Confluence of the several Humours, I have enumerated, the People of *England* have experienced *real Servitude*, on the *other*.

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However,

* Rapin of the long Parliament.

However, it must be said, that thus to accuse and recriminate, is alike begging the Question on both Sides; that another Rule of judging is necessary for determining the respective Merits of each dividing Party.—But that is a Disquisition foreign to my present Purpose, which is only, as a Matter of necessary Speculation, at this Time, to consider impartially the Expediency or Inexpediency of passing a Law *to reduce and limit the Number of Place-Men in the House of Commons.* A Question not a little interesting, even in this respect, as different Persons are intended to gain or lose Reputation by the different Parts they take in it; for which Reason, as well as on account of its natural Tendency, it deserves to be well considered; and, in the first Place, a-part, wholly detached from all other Matters, with which it has no necessary Connection, (especially such as, being of a disputable Nature, have already been the Subject of Controversy among us) as a mere Problem, in the most abstracted View of Men and Things. This, I know, is a Method not so agreeable to the Taste and Design of those who are to find their Account chiefly in Declamation, in speaking to Mens Prejudices, and Passions, not their Reason. Yet, as being most likely to lead
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to a right Resolution in the Case before us, I chuse to begin with it; after which, to give every Consideration its due Weight, some collateral Reasons may take Place; as Physicians, besides the present acute Complaint, will always have Regard to the chro-nical Habit and Humours of their Patient.

To proceed, then, upon Principles so far true, as that they are incontestable. It would certainly argue great Ignorance to say that Honour, Favour, Power, Profit conferred are Things of mere Indifference; and, if possible, a yet greater Degree of Credulity, to think that a Thirst after *any* of them, attended with Disappointment, is not a Bias, liable to raise our Passions, prejudice our Affections and Judgments, and to influence our Actions accordingly: And (*which is much to the present Purpose*) in no Body of Men may we *ever* expect to find any Number of Persons so philosophical, so *wholly disinterested*, so *independent* in their own Minds, as to be quite regardless of these Things. The Consequence is, that no certain Conclusion can be drawn concerning any particular Question, merely from the Part which *Place-Men* take about it. An Observation which might very well have been spared, were not many Persons
too

too apt to talk and write upon this Subject, as if it was to be taken for granted that *they* must necessarily be subservient, against their Consciences, for Pay; and as if those only in that envied Situation, or on the same Side of the Question with them, were *liable* to the Suspicion of undue Influence or Corruption. Whereas, if to act with common Passions be the Mark of *it*, to whatever Excess *they* may be carried, or in whatever Sense *that* shall be understood, there is Danger of its being so much *greater* on the Side of the *disappointed*, by how much they may happen to be the Majority; and so much *worse*, as Persons, in those Circumstances, are apt to be carried away with Anger and Impatience, to be less careful, less judicious about their *Measures*; whence it often happens that they are only innocent for want of Success. And this proves further, that though there should be Room to suspect some Place-Men of having given their Votes, at some Times, upon corrupt Principles; it does not follow that the Question, however carried on their Side, had either a *wrong Determination*, or the *Majority* of corrupt Votes; which Consideration ought to be some Allay also to the Zeal and Warmth expressed on this Occasion.

If it should be said that this is granting, in a Degree, the Evil complained of, and pointing (*as a Remedy*) to the proposed Expedient; on the contrary, I suspect *that* would be a Means to heighten the Disease, and to increase the Malignity of it. For to put a probable, or rather a certain constant Case; if at any Time there may be many more Places in *Imagination* than in *Reality*, *i. e.* more Persons contending and expecting, than *can* succeed, and be satisfied in their Expectations; in that Case, what will the *reducing* and *limiting* the Number of Places avail, more than to heighten the Odds, increase the Number of Expectants in Proportion, consequently make Disappointments more frequent, Resentments, in course, more strong, and Contests and Struggles about them proportionably more violent? And the Consequences thereof being what only we can complain, or have any Colour of Reason to be afraid of; this Scheme, instead of preventing, must needs promote them.

But the Evils admitted being only *by Accident*, and which may be in a greater or or a less Degree; tho' they should be found not to admit of a Remedy, by any *Caution* or *Contrivance of Law*; we may be under
 less

less Fear and Apprehension about them (as Things are at present) if they can be thought not so frequent and general, as, in certain furious Party Writings and Speeches, it has been affected to represent them; and which may not seem incredible, if it shall appear, that the very same Effects which are there attributed to *Places*, may be derived from other Causes, often confounded with them, and which would subsist, not only with greater Force, if *those* were reduced and limited, but with much the same they now do, if they were entirely taken away.

Admitting the Possibility alike to *all Parties*, it is not necessary to involve Numbers of *any* in the Suspicion of *real* Corruption. A more just and candid way of thinking, in this Case, is, to consider, that it is equally possible to act right from wrong Principles, as for a Mistake to be attended with an honest Intention : That particular Persons may go corruptly with a Party, where the Majority have the purest Views imaginable. Suppose, for Instance, in any future House of Commons, some great Place-Men to be of the Privy Council, where *some Measures must necessarily* be concerted, which, *as necessarily*, must have the Approbation and Sanction of Parliament;

ment; there is no Absurdity in believing *these* may be the Subject of free Discourse and Debate *in Council*, and the Result, what should be the Result of all *such* Consultations, a general Acquiescence in *those Measures*, for which the strongest Reasons shall appear in the Opinion of all or most of them. If then, the same being reconsidered by them in their Legislative Capacity, they should find no Reason to alter their Judgments; *notwithstanding their Places*, there would lie no just Objection to their Conduct; nor could it be thought strange, that what seemed right and reasonable to them, should appear so to many others also; while yet it might not be impossible for some to be with them implicitly, in the Spirit of Party, and with a View to Party Advantages.

The like may be supposed of Gentlemen, who may happen to be in the Opposition, in which some may be governed by Principle and Opinion, while others may fall in with them merely for the sake of Opposition, without giving themselves the Trouble of considering, or even against the Conviction of their own Minds. Will any one say that these Suppositions are ill founded? If then they don't square exactly

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with the common Arguments for a Place-Bill, and the Suppositions upon which they stand; yet, which is infinitely better, being, I conceive, as much nearer the Truth, as it is more agreeable to the *Dignity* of human Nature, and the *Honour* of our Nation; in this way, much may be accounted for of what we see in Parliament, without returning to those very invidious Insinuations, and general odious Appellations (which, though so liberally dealt out, upon Occasion, no Man will take upon him to justify against any particular Persons) by which it has been endeavoured, (not without the greatest Inconsistency) to paint us in the very worst Situation, such as confessedly *, *it is far from being credible we either now are, or ever shall be in*; to apply an Argument from the same Writer, without straining it; the contrary, is a *Calumny too gross to be imposed upon the most prejudiced and the most credulous; the bare Recollection of the Names of the Gentlemen concerned, the Quality of many, the Property*

* Address to the Electors, and other free Subjects of Great Britain, 1739. N. B. This Author being one of the first, I regard him as the principal Advocate for a Place-Bill; as it was He who first instructed the Electors, &c. how to instruct himself and others on that Head.

ty of most of them, their private Characters sufficiently confute it.

However, such, it seems, is sometimes the Nature of Party Acrimony, to accuse heavily, though it be *without Proof*, or even *without Suspicion*; thus what is highly improbable to be the Effect of Corruption, of the *low, sordid, venal Kind*, is plainly what we call *Faction*, another Species of it, not less fruitful of bad Events, for being of a more complicated Nature, made up of some noble, with some ignoble Passions; a Distemper in the *Body Politick*, we might not expect to be more free from, were there *no Places*; or, which comes to the same Thing, were *ALL Place-Men alike*. We might not, even in that Case, expect a Harmony of Votes; Men's Understandings will be different; thence will arise a Diversity of Opinions; and most Men will be apt to contend earnestly and warmly for their own, and what comes nearest to their own; this Pride alone is sufficient for all the Purposes of Contention; as Contention is sufficient, not only for *Calumny*, but every other Evil incident to Society.

Though it is hard to say, upon what Principles Men always act, several Persons will have several Motives; yet, if we consider what is most likely to be the most general *ruling* Motive, in those who aspire to a Seat in Parliament, it cannot be thought to be (as some would have us to imagine) *Avarice*, the Desire of *amassing Wealth*; because every Body who knows any Thing of the Matter, knows it to be, of all Methods, for *that Purpose*, the most fallible. A Man may with less Hazard, and almost equal Certainty, depend upon making his Fortune from a Lottery. It may, with much more Probability therefore, be judged to be no illaudable Desire of making a Figure in their Country, of being conspicuous and useful in Life. It is Matter of Honour and Distinction to be chose the Representative of any *Body of Men* in Parliament. This induces Candidates, and the same Spirit (I mean a Spirit of Emulation) which brings Gentlemen into the *House*, will generally be found to attend them *there*. Many of them will be Members of Consequence. That indeed is not in every one's Choice; however, they who have it in their Power, are blessed with superior Talents, and are not depressed

fed with Modesty, will exert that Superiority, as Occasion offers; they will be Leaders, and according to the Side they take (for Parties there will be) and the Chance of that Side, they will be *nominally* Patriots, or probably Place-Men, if it suits their Taste; and one of their great Ends will be answered, in thus finding they are of Weight and Significancy with their *Friends* or *Party*. And, upon these Principles, and for these Reasons, were Places entirely out of the Question, Divisions would be; a Passion for Fame and Victory, Self-Love, and Self-Will, would operate, in much the like Manner, and have pretty near the same Effect, we see them have in the present State of Things.

I have said that a Spirit of Faction and Discord is the great national *Grievance*, under which we labour; a *Calamity* which always threatens, often brings *Desolation* to a Kingdom. How far we are gone in that Delusion, may be judged from a late Instance, in a certain Place, of violent Clamour for a War, which no sooner became so much more than *necessary*, as to be unavoidable, but immediately we saw, from the same Quarter, a Cabal formed, or endeavoured to be formed (under the
Pretence

Pretence of a Place-Bill) to obstruct the necessary Means of carrying on the War. Was this, in *one View*, true Zeal for the *Honour* and *Trade* of their Country? Was it, in *another*, agreeable to their real Sentiments, as may be gathered from the Conduct of those very Persons*, in a *parallel Case* † of *their own*, immediately after? Is it possible to mistake a Procedure of this kind, at such a Juncture, for publick Spirit? On the contrary, it was plainly a strong Instance of the worst Effects of *Faction*, in an Affair of the last Importance; shewing how practicable it is for Numbers, under *its Influence*, to be so far intoxicated, to make a Compliment of their own Sincerity, and the common Interest, to the Artifice, the Ambition, and Malice of a few Individuals.

But can we hope that this kind of Faction would abate, in Proportion as the Number of Place-Men in Parliament should be reduced and limited? No! so far as they are a Stem, on which it grows, the lopping off part will but make it take deeper Root, and shoot forth in more luxuriant Branches. If they are Matter of Strife
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* The Citizens of *London*.

† A Place Bill.

in Parliament, in their present Number ; by reducing the Number, the Strife will certainly be increased ; and, according as Debates, and Struggles, and Divisions are *within Doors*, so will Faction be *without*. It increases with the Increase of them, and strengthens with their Strength ; and *as much* Strength as *it* gains in the Kingdom, *so much* (the Malecontents too well know it) does the Government lose of its Authority at home, and Weight and Credit abroad. The best to be expected from Increase of *Faction*, is Weakness of Government, which brings on a national Weakness.—Blessings these, which no Man, but a good Subject, a good Friend, or faithful Ally, will envy us ! FRANCE and SPAIN would rejoice in the Success of *such* our *present Patriotism* ; as I doubt not but they heartily approve, if they don't contribute something to the Appearance of it. Certainly *other Powers* will always take some of their Measures from what they observe of that kind, as it cannot be doubted that one of the chief Encouragements of the late provoking Conduct in the *Court of Spain* arose from the *Heats and Animosities which were so industriously fomented among us*.

Of all the *factious Efforts* we have lately seen from that Quarter whence this present Project of a Place-Bill is known originally to proceed, *it* is what most Persons see through clearly, as a Piece of *mere Grimace*, and *shameless Hypocrisy*; while the *Party Inclinations* of too many will not suffer them to explode it, in the Manner they know it deserves.—Nay, some, who think tolerably of the *Thing*, have nevertheless a very mean Opinion of the *chief Actors* in *this Farce*; well judging upon *what Principles*, and with *what Views* they act. There are also some few, who, not having sufficiently considered the Point, and Mankind, in that particular View, at the same Time that they disapprove of the *reducing Scheme*, &c. as ineffectual to the *Ends* given out to be proposed by it, and of *some Measures* taken to promote it, as, in their Opinion, *wholly improper*, are almost persuaded that *no Place-Men* should be in Parliament. 'Tis true, *that*, if any Thing, and *that only*, could produce the *Disinterestedness* and *Independency* so much talked of.—But the Misfortune is, that these are altogether *Eutopian Schemes*, which must terminate in bare Speculation; the *one* and *the other* are, like all others, too
fine

fine spun for human Nature, which are but so many Cobwebs in *civil* or *ecclesiastical Polity*; though that has not hindered worthy Persons of warm and delicate Imaginations from sometimes falling under Delusions of this sort; and it being allowed by all Persons of Experience and Consideration, that many are, by the Nature of their Places, very properly Members of Parliament; should an Opinion, or rather a Faction, at any Time, prevail so far, as to limit the Number, I deny that it would answer the End proposed, *alledged*, at least, which is *so far* to procure an absolute Bill of Divorce, an entire Separation between *Members of Parliament* and *Places*, and all Regard to the Disposition of Places. For, notwithstanding the vehement Outcry made for this Regulation by *weekly Writers*, &c. with some *witty*, *more dull*, but rude *Invectives*, I take it to be nothing less than an *Impossibility*, owing to the *Nature* of our Government, which is mixed, and to *that* of Mankind, who are not to be divested of their natural Appetites and Passions.

Our Government, by the very Design of it, consists of three distinct (not independent) Parts; of which, the *King* is as the

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Head, the *Lords* and *Commons* represent the Body. What an *Union*, as well as *Balance*, is hereby intended and created, and how they *jointly* contribute to the common Peace and Safety, I need not say. For the Defence of the Kingdom, and Support of Government, a suitable Revenue is allotted by the Wisdom of the whole Legislature, divided into two unequal Parts; one, called the *Civil List*, is rightly appropriated to the Use of the *Crown*, to support the Honour and Dignity thereof; the other constitutes a great *Fund*, or *national Purse*, for the Supply of all the other *Exigences* of *State*. This *Honour* and *Dignity* of the *Crown*, these *Exigences* of *State*, necessarily require the Assistance of many *Heads* and *Hands*; and consequently create a large Number of *Places*, both of *Trust* and *Power*, which must necessarily be supplied by Persons of *Ability* and *Integrity*, who, in course, must have Appointments equal to the *Dignity*, and *Trust*, and *Trouble*. The only Objection here is, that Gentlemen sit in *Parliament*, in one Capacity, as Representatives of the Body of the People; but, as Place-Men, they sustain another Character, may serve another Interest, that of the *Crown*; by which Means, we are told,*

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* Address to the Electors, &c.

we may become Slaves to the *Crown*. As if that was a certain Consequence ; as if *Opposition* was always *Patriotism*, and there was a necessary irreconcilable Difference between the Interests of the *Crown* and the People ; which is so far from being the Truth of the Case, that, it is admitted on all Hands, they are (rightly understood) *exactly* and *inseparably* the same ; and tho' a Misunderstanding, on either Part, should, at any Time, occasion a Competition ; yet cannot the temporary Advantages of Places easily be thought to prevail over *such* and *so many* Gentlemen's *Honour* and *Consciences*, (I may add their *good Sense* too) to the Injury of their *Country* ; in which last (I speak of the present Gentlemen in that Situation) the most angry, and the most prejudiced, must acknowledge them to have no small Share, at the same Time, that they do acknowledge them to have a very quick Sense of, and due Regard to their own particular Interest. If then I may be allowed to argue from present Certainty to future Probability, what if the Crown hath *two* Parts in these Gentlemen ? If their Country have *ten*, it is a reasonable Security for their Attachment to the *Country*, especially in all fundamental Cases : And we have the more Reason to be satisf-

fied with it, if it is the best Security which the *Nature of Things* will allow of; as indisputably it is, if moving and keeping Place-Men from Parliament (to all the Intents and Purposes alledged) is found to be, as I have already hinted, and do really account it, wholly impossible.

We are told,* “ *That the only Way to put the Constitution on such a Footing as not to degenerate, is to ground it on Nature.*” Admit the Rule here (*Naturam licet Furca repellas tamen usque recurret,*) and after all Refinements, in *Theory*, we shall find that Power and Profit, in *Fact*, will go together, so long as *Men and Things* retain *their Nature*. And the Power of Parliament is too great to suffer a Restraint upon *its Members*, which is not *naturally* suited to their own Minds. Let him that thinks otherwise, ask himself these following Questions:—Who grants the Supplies for the current Service? *The Parliament*. When is the King said to do right, in certain Instances? *When he acts by the Advice of his Parliament*. — When are we reputed easy at home, and, in Consequence thereof, respected abroad? *When a good Agreement subsists between the KING and his PARLIAMENT*. ——— But *such Agreement*

* Common Sense

Agreement *cannot* be without a good Understanding between the *two Houses* of Parliament. Now the Scheme of this Reduction and Limitation, &c. (if it takes Place) rightly enough supposes that the *House of Lords* * will share all the *great Offices* of State; and, no doubt, they would be *very safely* entrusted with *Persons* of that *exalted Rank* and *Honour*. The Question is, how the COMMONS, not only now, but at *all Times hereafter*, may relish *such* a BILL of EXCLUSION. Is not this *alone* an unanswerable Objection, the Danger of creating Discontent, Jealousies and Animosities, which would go near to issue in open Ruptures between the *two Houses*? Might there not be Danger of its inflaming *some future Commoners* with a stronger Passion for, and more ardent Desire of *Peerage* than would be convenient? Might it not, in many Views, open a wider Door for *Faction*, and be a Means more effectually to let in upon us *all those Evils*, which, some would have it believed, are hereby intended to be prevented.

Had the COMMONS never been admitted to any of the *great Offices*, their present
rich

* Address, &c.

rich and powerful growing Circumstances might make a Door of Entrance for them *reasonable and necessary*.—— But having been, for Ages, in Possession of this Privilege, what Heart-burning and Confusion a Regulation attended with a Restriction of this sort (directly, or by Consequence) would occasion, a Man may foretel, without the Spirit of Prophecy: For surely it requires no great Penetration to see that *this Scheme*, if not calculated, has however a strong Tendency to derive a peculiar Odium upon one of the *three Estates of this Realm*, and thereby pave the Way, instead of *amending and preserving*, to the effectual Ruin of our present happy Constitution. Is this then the *salutary Law* * we have heard so much of? Are these the *invaluable Blessings* † of a Place-Bill? Do our supposed Reformers see these Mischiefs from their Scheme, which are so obvious? If they do, where is their *Patriotism*, or HONESTY? If they do not, where is their POLICY, or *good Sense*?

But though we could suppose the Consequences not to be altogether so pernicious; if MONOPOLIES in TRADE have
always

* Address, &c.

† Ibid.

always been looked upon as *injurious* to the publick Good, and CHARTERS *exclusive* reckoned so many Clogs upon *common* Wealth, as being *Cramps* to *particular private Industry*; by the same Way of reasoning, it would be an *Injury*, it would be *false Policy*, for great Offices not to lie open, without Distinction of Peers or Commoners, elder or younger Brothers, to Persons of the *best Capacity*, in order to their being discharged in the *very best Manner*.

“ In every regular Society there must be
 “ Offices of Eminence and Distinction, to
 “ be filled by the most deserving Members
 “ for the Benefit of the whole;” and to be
 so deserving, “ is a laudable Emulation, or
 “ Ambition, if you please, inseparable from
 “ ingenuous Minds, which is the great
 “ Spur to Industry, the great Incentive to
 “ generous and arduous Designs: Without
 “ this, every Branch of social and publick
 “ Virtue must languish and decay.——
 “ The young *London* Apprentice is allowed
 “ to please himself with the Thoughts of
 “ being *Sheriff*, or Alderman, at least, if
 “ not *Lord-Mayor*: The *Cadet* may have
 “ Hopes of being a *General*, and the *Stu-*
 “ *dent at the Inns of Court*, *Lord High*
 “ *Chancellor of Great-Britain*. This in-
 “ nocent

“ nocent Vanity is the natural Root, the
 “ real Ground of all *political* Virtue, and
 “ *publick Safety*: It is this, and this only,
 “ that distinguishes the *brave*, the *learned*,
 “ and the *worthy*, from the *ignorant*, the
 “ *lazy* and the *undeserving*, in all *Ranks*,
 “ *Orders*, and *Professions*.” And is it fit
 this generous Emulation, which has fur-
 nished out *so many Worthies*, should now
 be confined to *those alone* who are *born*
 noble; and, even to those, according to
 their Prospect of *actual Peerage*? How ma-
 ny younger Brothers of *brave Spirit* and
fine Genius, who now are willing to toil
 and expose themselves in our *Fleets* and
Armies, and who, in other Ways, are at
 no small Pains to accomplish themselves
 for the *Service of their Country*, must re-
 ceive some Discouragement, from a Scheme,
 by which it is said * (and it is worth noting)
the House of Lords will NECESSARILY share
ALL the great Offices.

The antient laudable Practice of the
Crown, has been, for the eminent good
 Qualities, approved Abilities and Services
 of Gentlemen, in their respective *difficult*
high Stations, and *Offices*, to enoble *them*,
 and,

* Address to the Electors, &c. p. 49.

and, for *their* Sakes, their Posterity.—
 But, according to this Scheme, until *those*
 of the very best Talents, have the Honour
 of sitting in the *upper House*, they can have
 no great Opportunity of exerting them in
 the Service of their *Prince* and *Country*.
 This reminds me of a ridiculous Edict I
 have heard of, — *restraining Youth from*
going into the Water, until they could
swim.

Might we not, under such a Policy, fear
 a greater Scarcity than at present we have,
 of Persons duly qualified for all the several
 great Offices, which the *State* cannot be
 without? What if there are never wanting
 Instances, many among the *Peers*, and we
 have, at this Time, an *illustrious one*, of a
Nobleman of the first *Rank* and *Fortune*,
 adorning a *great* and *arduous Office*, with
 equal *Abilities*, and *Application*? The Ex-
 amples of Noblemen, *able* and *willing* too,
 it must be said, are not too many, nor pro-
 bably ever will be, considering that besides
 a natural Genius and Turn of Mind, it re-
 quires *Use* and *Practice*, *Experience* and
Habit to perfect any Person for a *momentous*
Employ; which is best attained by begin-
 ning *early*, and rising *gradually* in what
 they profess; which is not *ordinarily* the

Province of *elder Brothers born to ample Fortunes.*

Of such as have signalized themselves as *able Statesmen* (any more than good Poets) there have arose but few in any one Age. It has been thought a plentiful Harvest, which produced, at the same time, a *Cecil* and a *Walsingham*; as it is notorious, that of *all those*, who are celebrated *as such*, by our English Historians, the far greater Part of them made their first Appearance in the *House of Commons*. If thus it has been, and, in the same Respect, that *honourable House*, may, at this Day, compare with (as I verily think it may, if it does not excel) any Period of Time we can read of, * I hope

* Is any one disposed to accuse me of undue Adulation in this Place? I hold it just, on all Hands; especially, with regard to the frequent personal Scurrilities we meet with in some PARTY Writers (the *Serious Exhortation*, *Common Sense*, &c.) to refer him to a learned and more ingenious Adversary, in the Heat of Debate too, *viz.* Mr. F——z——r——cy, who, speaking of Sir ROBERT WALPOLE has the following Words: “ He is a Person, “ whom I know, (from my own Experience I can say it) “ to be as *well qualified* for a first Minister as any Man in “ this Kingdom.—He has discharged the important Posts “ he has enjoyed, with *great Capacity* ——— and his “ TEMPER and MODERATION is, beyond Dispute, the “ *most extraordinary* of any Man I ever knew; ——— in “ short, his Character, in *private Life*, is amiable even “ in the Eyes of those, who differ from him in *publick*.

Supp. to Gent. Mag. 1739.

to pervert the of the Reasons why they should put on their own Chains by submitting to the proposed Indignity. As to the Difference observed, without any Reflection, there may this good Account, which I have, in a manner, already hinted, be given of it. If we consult the Temper of Mankind, in general, it is not *Difficulty* and *Danger*, *hard studying*, *Watching*, and *Labour*, which are the ultimate Object of Desire, but *Reputation*, *Riches*, *Titles*, *Ease*, at last; and it is not easy to imagine that too many of those who are blessed with a competent Share of them before-hand, should be over and above solicitous to repeat those Labours, which their *virtuous Ancestors* undertook, in some measure, for their Benefit.

This can't be denied, that all Men, of good Parts, and natural, or acquired Abilities, with sprightly Industry, will ever make their Application where Promotion may be expected (and no where else) as Rewards for their Hazard and Labour; whoever makes that a Question, needs go no farther than to himself for an Answer. To love Trouble upon *its own Account*, is like the Love of *fighting for fighting Sake*; which is agreed, by all Mankind, to be the

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certain

certain Sign of a Coward, *wherever pretended*. If then all Men of *Parts, Ability and Industry*, must be supposed alike inclined to some of the desirable Advantages in Life, and none of these are to be had in the *House of Commons*; Who then, of course, are left to be our worthy Representatives? Why truly the dull, the illiterate and the slothful, whom no People, in their Senses, would desire to pitch upon for their Legislators, and to support the Honour and Interest of their Country abroad, and the Liberties of their Fellow-Subjects at Home. I think I need not pursue this Argument any further, to which I have been led by the *allowed* Consequences of a *Place Bill*. I return to that taken from the *Possibility* of a *Suspicion* of Corruption.

These *Possibilities* Party Prejudice has a good Knack at improving into *Suspicion*, and from thence to *Certainty*. How often have we seen this vicious Circle of reasoning made use of? *Votes*, first, disparaged on Account of Place-Men, and *then* Place-Men condemned upon the Evidence of *those Votes*. Whereas, Corruption is seated in the *Hearts* of Persons, and not in *Places*; and a corrupt Heart if the *Wisdom* of *Parliament* cannot descry, their *Power* will

will not be able to hinder. Chuse an *un-corrupt Parliament* without *Limitation of Places*, and where is the Danger? Suppose a *corrupt* one, without *any Place-Men*, and where is the Security? But Places, it is said, give Life, and Birth, and Nourishment to Corruption *whenever that happens*: Should they not then be utterly extinguished? Alas! how is that possible? They have their Foundation in the *Exigences of State*, they are essential to the *Honour and Dignity of the Crown*; in regard to *both*, they are *necessary constituent Parts*, and *Appendages* of Government; and to make them incompatible with a Seat in Parliament (*to all the Intents and Purposes alledged*) is beyond the Power of Law. Any one, for that Purpose, contrive it as you can, will be evaded by one means or other, where the Disposition to do it is strong; and if the Number is reduced and limited, there will be same Resource for *such* Dispositions.

Moreover, there are *other Means* of Corruption, of a far more dangerous Tendency, which, in that Case, would but operate more certainly and powerfully. To divide a divided Kingdom, *to some Purpose*, neighbouring States will, *at Times*, interest them-

themselves very deeply, even to the rendering a *natural Prince* (once divested (thro' Excess of Caution) of common regal Powers) a *mere Cypher*; and the *People* a *Prey*, sometimes to the *longest Sword*, sometimes to the *highest Bidder*. Hence the present Strife we hear of between *Fr*——— and *R*——— *Coins* in *S*———*d*———*n*——— But if this were not so: It is a Rule in Law, That *all Obligations (where the Condition is impossible) are mere Nullities, void in Course*; and that is a sufficient Reason why it should not be expected from a *wise Body of Men*, to go about to enact a Law with a View to *Ends and Purposes*, which common Understandings (as in this Case) must see, it cannot answer. It might indeed lay Bars in the way of some more sincere and open Tempers, which *some others*, less scrupulous, would break through without any Difficulty; and what would that be, but exposing us still more to the very *Tempers* and *Persons* against whom we are supposed to be fencing?

We have been told * indeed, that a Place-Bill is nothing less than a *reasonable legal Security*, *whether we are to continue a free*

* Common Sense.

free People or not ; a Security, I suppose, that those who have a Share in the Legislature, shall not consent to the enslaving of *themselves* and *their* Posterity along with their Constituents. Of which was the Danger, *i. e.* the Probability much greater than any honest Man of *real* common Sense will pretend to say it is, yet when we talk of *Danger* and *Security* in this respect, we should do well to consider, that it is a great Mistake to imagine so much Power gained from the *Crown* to be always so much into the Scale of *Liberty* : And in regard to the Security insisted upon, besides what has already been said upon that Head ; it is to be observed that all Power is a delegated Trust, for which no Pledge can be contrived that is an exact Equivalent ; consequently, wherever it is lodged (*in the Prince, or whatsoever Class of People*) there will remain a *Physical* Possibility of its being abused. But is all Confidence to be lost for that Reason ? No ! the best moral Assurance to the contrary, is what, in all Cases, we *must* trust to, and *therefore* should be content with. In that before us, having used our Judgments in electing Gentlemen of Family and Fortune, with good private Characters, and of known Affection to the present Government, and
our

our Constitution ; we must (*for a Time*) depend upon the *Honour*, and *Conscience*, and *Capacity* of our Representatives.

The Act of Settlement was indeed clogged (by means of some, who, it is known, were no Friends to it) with a Clause, in the Nature of a Place-Bill.—But the after qualifying of that Clause, from an utter *Incapacity* to a *Re-election*, is even now * admitted to have been necessary. If then Gentlemen in Parliament are disposed to accept, and his Majesty think fit to confer on them a publick Employment ; their Elections are, in most Cases, vacated, (this is our Barrier, and may be accounted a sufficient one) ; they are rechosen, or they are not. If they are not, the Question is at an End ; there is *no Danger*. If they are, 'tis a manifest Approbation, on the Part of their Constituents, which is *some Security* ; the King must be said, *so far*, to take their Sense in what he does ; which, if it will not be taken as a Compliment by *all*, cannot be looked upon as an Injury by *any of them* ; as little can it be esteemed, in any particular Member, (what the Writer † I have before had Occasion to quote, has

* Serious Exhortation to the Electors, &c.

† Address, &c.

has ridiculously affirmed) a Desertion of their Trust at all, much less equal to *that infamous one of seceding*. Considering then that Places, and consequently Place-Men, *must* be, and that (humanly speaking) they will always be, many of them, Members of Parliament, under any Administration whatsoever, (the contrary Supposition, *however it may serve a present Turn*, being a direct Affront to common Sense, as it is a plain Contradiction to the Experience of all Men, in all Ages) *no Body of Men* have Reason to take Offence at their Representatives *merely* for accepting a *Trust* or *Power* from the *Crown*, without some other Ground of Dislike or Suspicion; they ought rather to be pleased, and rejoice at it, among others, for this obvious Reason, that it is a presumptive Proof of their having made a faithful, and a wise Choice: For who are so proper to fill Places of Trust, as they who are best to be trusted? And who are so fit to represent us in Parliament, as they whose Ability and Integrity is best to be relied on, in our own Opinions, confirmed by the Opinion of other competent Judges? The same good Qualities being requisite, in both Regards, if the same Person is so happy, *at once*, to have the good Opinion of his *Prince* and *Country* too, it

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should

should give general Satisfaction ; as it is a good Sign, at least, of an *honest, worthy, able* Man. It is almost a *certain Sign* of a good natural Interest well founded, and that though he is not carried upon the Wings of *false* Popularity, he has *real Merit*, a more solid Support, which upholds him in the Opinion of the *most considerable and valuable Part* of his Electors.

When I say that this is a *Sign* of a good Interest, well founded, I mean that such kind of parliamentary Interest being, for the most part, founded ultimately in *Property* ; nothing can be more for the Security of a *rich and free* People : I had almost said, that in the Hands of *such a Representative*, our LIBERTIES are *absolutely* safe ; and I believe *Reason*, supported by *Observation* from our *English* History, would go near to bear me out in that Assertion. For as it is Nonsense to say that the Body of the People can suffer in *so essential* a Point, and their Representatives not share in the Calamity ; so is it Folly to imagine that *they* would consent to be their *own Executioners*. Not but a Majority in Parliament have *sometimes* gone great Lengths towards the Ruin of the Liberty
of

of their Country, both *with* and *against* the *Court*. — But as that has not often happened, so whenever it did, we shall find that tho' Corruption, that of foreign Powers, had always some Share in it, it was *Political Error*, and *Party Fury*, which did the greatest Part of the Mischief.

It is *possible* for a Parliament to give up the *Liberties* of their *Country*, but it is not at all probable that *such* Gentlemen, as are commonly returned, should do it, upon Considerations of private Gain to themselves; because, as no Considerations of that sort can be deemed equivalent *thereto*, they are naturally jealous and tenacious enough of Liberty, &c. and *therefore*, before they can be induced to give into any Measures destructive *thereof*, the People must be poisoned in their Notions of Governors and Government, and inflamed to a Degree of Madness; Elections following thereupon, the Contagion will spread into *that Council*, which is to be formed out of *those Persons*, so disordered. As troubled Waters cast up Mire and Dirt, so from an heated and misguided People, *at such a Time*, we are to expect a very contrary Effect from what we *should* hope for, and

what *would* be the Result of a *sedate* and *temperate Choice*. It is natural for Party and Faction to strive to increase the Number of their own Friends and Favourites in Parliament; and when such Persons meet together, they will as naturally bring the Impressions of their Electors along with them, and act more according to the Measures they require, than to those which make for the *publick Good*. This was plainly the Case of the last Parliament of *Queen Anne*; to which, though *Fr. Gold* contributed something, *Dr. Sa——l* and his Progress did much more. If we look back to the Reign of *Charles II.* we shall find, that it was an Excess of Joy for their Deliverance from all that national Shame and Misery which a * *Place-Bill*, (the Effect of civil Dissentions) had, *in its Consequences*, introduced, which threw the People into a strong *Delirium*, and (as we naturally fall from one Extreme to another) made them *mistake the Reverse of Wrong for Right*, instead of the *proper Medium*; of which undue Ferment in the People, ill-meaning Persons taking the Advantage, a Parliament was returned, *some*, with wrong Notions of Government; *others*, with

* The self-denying Ordinance.

with corrupt Principles, to the Disadvantage of the Nation, and the lasting Dishonour of those Times.

The common People (says a sage Pamphleteer *) even down to the Beggar in the Streets, having some Interest, have *all* an *undoubted Right to canvass publick Affairs, and to express their Sentiments freely about them* ; for which, he affirms they have Zeal enough, and want nothing but *Knowledge*. 'Tis then but trusting to *him*, and such other intelligent publick Spirits as his own, and the Business is done ; they are completely qualified to give *Laws* to their *Law-Makers*, the two Houses of PARLIAMENT, and to *rule* their *Ruler* the KING. “ Now
 “ we all know how easily the Populacy
 “ are to be managed, by *artful Incendia-*
 “ *ries*, and with what Dexterity and Cun-
 “ ning *such Men* do sometimes seduce them
 “ without all Reason, to follow those whom
 “ they have set up to lead them. *Liberty*
 “ and *Property* are such powerful Motives,
 “ and have such a Weight with them, that
 “ the *very Pretence* of them is enough to
 “ persuade whole Multitudes to do *any*
 “ *Thing* for the Sake of them. And when
 “ once

* The Livery-Men.

“ once these Things come to be represent-
 “ ed, not as they *ought to be*, but as it is
 “ for the *Interest* and *Advantage* of *design-*
 “ *ing* Men to do it; what can be expected,
 “ but that the Body of the People should
 “ be milled, and become *zealous*, and *even*
 “ *furious*, they know not why, and per-
 “ haps, at length, sacrifice *that very Li-*
 “ *berty* and *Property* which they were so
 “ earnest to preserve, to *their own unrea-*
 “ *sonable Fears*, or *Resentments*?”

Thus it *has been* heretofore ; what *may*
be, if this Scheme should succeed, and what
 is the *real Opinion* of the Promoters of it,
 is much to be suspected from *the self-deny-*
ing Ordinance in 1644, supported by a Pe-
 tition from the *Citizens of London*, when
 so many gallant Men, and *true* Defenders
 of the *Liberty* of their *Country* were exclu-
 ded, not with Design to keep all Place-
 Men out of Parliament, but to let *them-*
selves, a RIVAL PARTY in, as appeared too
 plainly by the Event ; *which Ordinance* was
 not only the *Forerunner*, but the *Cause* of
 the *total Dissolution* of the Government,
 and was foreseen by Mr. *Whitelock* (as true
 a Lover of the Liberty of his Country as
 ever did, or possibly ever may fit within
St. Stephen's Chapel) who, p. 115, of his
Memoirs,

Memoirs, (after quoting a Speech at full Length, made against *that Ordinance*, which it is above the Reach of our *weekly Scribblers* to answer) has these Words: " The Debate held till late at Night, and " then, upon the Question (as some called " it), ENVY and SELF-ENDS *prevailing*, the " *Ordinance* passed the *House*, and was sent " to the *Lords*." This was the Judgment of that *great Man*, both of the *Thing*, and of the *Motives* of *those* who carried it on; which was too fully justified by what followed; for in less than five Years Time, not only the KING was *murdered*, but the MONARCHY, which they pretended but to restrain, was *dissolved*, the *House* of PEERS voted *useless* and *dangerous*, and that they *ought to be abolished*; and in three Years after that, the COMMONS themselves were, by *Force*, turned out of Doors, by the principal Contriver of *that Ordinance* in Person, and bid, *with Scorn*, to take away that Fool's Bawble, (*the Mace*); after which, so weary were the People justly (even the *City* of *London* itself) under the Government of these *Self-deniers*, after having tried it in all Shapes, that rather than bear it longer, they threw themselves (with unparallel'd Joy) into the Arms of a Prince they had often provoked, (and just before abjured) without

so much as securing one single Liberty, or even stipulating for an Indemnity, to save their *self-denying* Friends and Leaders from the Gallows. This may be a proper Lesson, not only for such as are too apt to judge of Men's Designs by their open Professions, but also to the Successors of those who were so feelingly concerned in the Consequences of *that never to be forgotten Law*. A fatal Original! which (with uncommon want of Modesty again, as contrary to all the Rules of Prudence) we are told,* "It is quite necessary we should
 " copy after, for our future Preservation;
 " that, otherwise, our *Constitution* will be at
 " an End."

The *worst* Designs never fail of being covered with the *most specious* Pretences; our *Constitution* is undoubtedly valuable, and ought by all Means to be preserved.— But surely, as Place-Men have always sat in the *House of Commons*, beyond any Memory or Tradition, till the Year 1644; *that* is a Precedent which will afford no Reason to make the proposed Alteration; since it is notorious that our *Constitution*, the *Nation* and its *Liberties*, subsisted many
 more

* Address, &c.

more *Ages*, under that Distemper, (if it was one) than they did *Years* under that *pretended Cure*. *Wise Men* won't follow *Quacks*, though they sometimes perform great Cures.—But to follow such of them as have been remarkable only for killing their Patients, is a Degree of Folly, of which No MAN *knowingly* was ever guilty. And Wo unto them, who calling *Evil* Good, would again persuade us! or rather, Wo unto *us*, if we are so persuaded to draw upon ourselves the *real Guilt* * of *those two enormous Crimes, Suicide, in regard to ourselves, and Parricide in regard to the CONSTITUTION, and our Country.*

Thus far I have treated the Project of a Place-Bill, abstractedly as I well could from all Party Reasonings, *properly such*; my Purpose being to see upon what good Foundation it stood, and how feasible it was, *Men and Things considered*: And, indeed; if we consider it, not otherwise than as if ALL the Subjects of *Great-Britain* were equally Friends to our Constitution, and alike well-affected to the Person and Government of his present Majesty, and to the *Protestant Succession*; as if we were ge-

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nerally

* Serious Exhortation.

nerally agreed about the same *good Ends*, only apt (*as Men*) to differ about the *Means*, or rather about certain Emoluments, which *some* must necessarily enjoy, and *ALL*, in the same Situation, cannot possibly partake of; in this View, though we could believe the Advocates for this reducing Scheme not to be endeavouring to impose a most egregious Fallacy upon us, in their Pretences of *real* Disinterestedness, and *true* publick Spirit, on *their own Parts*; yet does it seem (*at best*) to be but a chimerical Cure for an imaginary Cause of Complaint; a *Complaint*, of *Danger*, exaggerated, not only beyond *Truth*, but even beyond *Probability*; a *Cure* not capable of reaching the Evil, so far as it *is* or may be real.

When, therefore, a Cause assigned appears, (as in this Case) to be no Cause, or next to none, some other latent Reasons, which will not so well bear urging, are much to be suspected. One indeed there is, which almost every one more than suspects, and which therefore I need not name. Bishop *Burnet* * tells us of a Bill, of this kind, *once offered in the House of Commons* by those very Men, who, in the first Session

* History, Vol. II. p. 412.

sion of the *same Parliament*, when they hoped for Places themselves, had opposed the Motion with great Indignation.—— But the Scene changing a little, when they saw they were not like to be Favourites, they *pretended* to be Patriots. May we not, in much the same Manner, account for some present Appearances? Besides, and which is yet worse, 'tis observable that there is hardly in *England* one single *Papist*, *Jacobite*, *Tory*, or *Passive Obedience Man*, who is not zealously inclined to this Scheme. Let any Man, of another Persuasion, consider this, and then plume himself with his imagined Credit of Numbers; let him reflect upon the known genuine Notions and Principles of those Gentlemen, and judge what their Motive is; whether it be a superstitious Fondness for the Year 1644, and a Veneration for the Memory of those, and *their Policies*, who had a chief Hand in *that Transaction*; or, whether it is the *Preservation* of the *Protestant Religion*, the *Support* of the *present Royal Family*, and the *Defence* of the *Liberties of the People*; or whether (recollecting the Issue, the Consequences of that *Ordinance* taking Place, and supposing them to be consistent with themselves) it is not with a View to *distress one*, in order to

the more effectual Destruction of them all. I allow the Gentlemen called *discontented Whigs* to be as free from any such View, as the most zealous Courtiers.— But the Question is not, what they intend, but what the Consequence *may be*, of their joining with *those Men*. Few of the *Presbyterians*, in the Beginning of the Year 1660, thought of bringing in the King, but when they joined with the *Cavaliers*, a Restoration soon followed. The City of *London* itself thought fit to swim with a Stream, that then it was out of their Power to stem; though *they* before had chiefly supported all the Schemes against the Constitution, from the Beginning to the End of those distracted Times, as they are often called by Mr. *Whitlock*.

If then it is remember'd, (and methinks it should not be quite forgot) *that there is a Popish Pretender to the Throne*,* that there

* This was *Q. Elizabeth's* Case; her Right to the Crown was always contested, openly or tacitly. The *Papists*, in general, considering her but as a *Queen de facto*, believed they might, with a safe Conscience, assist in deposing her, whenever an Opportunity offer'd. To which End, she had for her constant Enemies the *Pope* and *Spain*; always some, sometimes all the other Catholic Powers in *Europe*, with all the *Papists* in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. As she was constantly in Danger on this Account, so it was her principal Care to guard against it: It was always uppermost with her; the whole Policy of her Reign turned chiefly

there are many Papists in *England, &c.* particularly that the City of *York* is remarkably full of them; which (*it is to be noted*) was the *first* Place in the Kingdom, where the *Common-Council* thought fit to follow the Example of the *Livery-Men* at *London*; WHERE also it is neither *impossible*, nor at all *improbable*, that *Papish Priests* and *Jesuits* may swarm in Disguise, even in *Republican* Shapes, in short, in *any Shape* which may do hurt; WHERE *they* may be as active, as they are *always* artful, and as successful *now* as *formerly* in fomenting Divisions.—If we consider that the *TORIES* among us are not a few; that, at certain Times, they have ALL of them been *consequently* *JACOBITES*; that many of them were *directly*, *notoriously* and *avowedly* in the Interest of the *Pretender*, at the *Accession* of his late Majesty; that (*as a Party*) they have never given any tolerable Proof, ———Proof did I say? not the least Sign of being reconciled to the *Protestant Succession*; unless a constant virulent Opposition, for twenty-five Years successively, to all the

Mea-

chiefly upon this Hinge. Thus, never losing Sight of her Danger, she *wonderfully* kept her *Crown*, and preserved her Protestant Subjects in great Tranquillity, amidst the secret and open Attacks of her own and their Enemies both at home and abroad. *Rapin*, Vol. II. p. 57, &c.

Measures of the established Government, upon all Occasions, and in all Shapes whatsoever, can be accounted *such*.—If we consider what has been the Practice of *France* heretofore upon our *Elections* and *Councils*, and what is her *present Power* and *Policy*; how, besides what * *Bishop Burnet* tells us of *French Gold* in *K. William's* Reign, we can many of us recollect the current Plenty of it, in the Time of a *Tory Parliament*, and a *Tory Administration*, at the latter End of *Q. Anne's* (but which has disappeared since that Time.) —If it is considered that we have Reason to apprehend the Readiness of *FRANCE*, at a particular Juncture, to ply us again in the same Way, she having lately practised her *Liberality* †, with much Success, upon other States in *Europe*.—If in the present Conjunction of Affairs, we have particular Reason to be upon our Guard against her

* *Burnet's History, Vol. 2 p. 257.*

† *Monsieur Colbert*, the *French Ambassador in London*, sent to gain or corrupt the *English Court and Council* of *K. Charles II.* in order to induce them to break the *Triple League*, which was made to check the Power of *France*, has this Expression in a Letter denoting the Success of his Negotiations: *I have at last made them sensible of the whole Extent of his Majesty's Liberality.* *Rapin, Vol. II. p. 653.*

her *Arts*, as well as *Arms* — If we consider how much *this Scheme* is made a Point of, and *by whom*, there is room to suspect the worst about it; inasmuch as if this Power should be taken out of the Hands of the *Crown*, which, at present, is but a reasonable, a *moderate* Counterbalance to the *Designs* and *Practices* of our *so potent Neighbour* and *natural Enemy*, the Scene would then be changed from what, in another View, is, at best, Absurdity, to *real* and *imminent Danger*. I hope we shall not be sensible of it, when it is too late! — that we shall not thus give Occasion, not the Chance of an Occasion to have it said, — Oh BRITAIN, **Thou hast destroyed thyself!**

F I N I S.





